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AMERICA WANTS PEACE

Ike's landslide: what it means

By Elmer Bendiner

THE EISENHOWER AVALANCHE, greatest since Franklin D. Roosevelt buried Alf Landon in 1936, bore no resemblance to that mid-depression sweep. In 1936 the U. S. electorate was plainly writing a mandate for a solution to a crisis. The morning after the 1956 election the mandate was harder to find. But the voters' decision was emphatic and, though it would take study to determine all the reasons, one thing was clear: America voted for the man they felt would best preserve the peace.

The President was returned to the White House by a margin of more than 10 million votes over Adlai Stevenson. Though the battle for Congress was still uncertain at GUARDIAN press time, the Democrats seemed to be holding their slim lead in both houses. But Republicans had stormed long-entrenched Democratic strongholds in Mobile and Montgomery, Ala., took Louisiana for the first time since Reconstruction, cut down Democratic margins in most big cities, labor centers and Negro wards, overturned the Democrats where their machines had been regarded as invulnerable—Chicago and Jersey City, N. J., for example.

THE SPLIT TICKET: In that other dramatic sweep 20 years ago there had been a sharp difference, not only in the personalities of FDR and Landon but in their policies. Moreover, there had been a difference between the parties, not only in the support they drew but in their platforms. The Democratic Party claimed at least a small share in FDR's 1936 victory. How much of this year's landslide was a Republican triumph was in doubt. In state after state GOP senators and representatives squeaked by, clinging to the President's coat-tails. It was a great victory for the split ticket.

In the narrow field which the candidates left at issue between themselves

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To the victor—the headaches
Election Day is behind us but the climactic world events go forward. The most pressing question for President Eisenhower—and the world—is the burning desire of subject peoples to be free—the struggle between imposed rule and national self-determination. The struggle is epitomized in the crisis over the Suez Canal, left.

THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

Win or lose—the future for Israel and the West

By Kumar Goshal

UNITED NATIONS

THE UNITED NATIONS was notified Nov. 7 of a conditional cease-fire by all participants in Egypt after a Soviet hint of drastic action unless the fighting ended. Cairo still demanded withdrawal of foreign troops; Israel insisted on retaining full control of the Sinai peninsula until Egypt agreed to direct peace negotiations; Anglo-French forces, with a hold on Suez, were expecting to be part of the UN police force authorized Nov. 4. This is a chronology of the events since Oct. 29:

THE FIRST DAY: News of Israel's invasion of the Sinai peninsula and the simultaneous moves by the British Mediterranean Fleet reached the U. S. on Oct. 29. The following day Britain and France gave an ultimatum demanding withdrawal of Israeli and Egyptian forces ten miles from either side of the Suez Canal and acceptance of Anglo-French occupation of three key canal points. If no reply came within 12 hours, the ultimatum threatened occupation of the canal by Anglo-French forces. Egypt's President Nasser rejected the ultimatum and ordered mobilization.

THE SECOND DAY: The U. S. hastily called the UN Security Council into session on Oct. 30, presented a resolution regarding "aggression in the Middle East." Noting Israel's "violation of the armistice agreement," the resolution called for a cease-fire and withdrawal of Israeli forces from Egyptian soil, urged UN members to "refrain from the use of force or the threat of force" and to deny all aid to Israel. After the resolution was toned down, it received seven votes in favor, two against (Britain and France) and two abstentions (Australia and Belgium). The negative vote of the two permanent members—Britain and France—had the effect of a veto.

A Soviet resolution calling for a cease-fire was similarly vetoed.

Yugoslavia then called for an emergency session of the UN General Assembly, under the 1950 "United for Peace" resolution. This resolution was devised by the U. S. to get around the Soviet veto in the Security Council. It provides

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**SEE CEDRIC BELFRAGE'S
REPORT FROM LONDON
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THE EAST EUROPEAN CRISIS

The Hungarian upheaval and the forces at work

WHILE IMRE NAGY was still premier of Hungary and the world press was filled with stories and pictures of mounting terror, editor Claude Bourdet in his left-wing, non-Communist Paris weekly **L'Observateur** sent an anguished appeal to the Poles and Hungarians:

"In your weariness and resentment do not forget what has been gained in the midst of your suffering; do not imperil the social transformations which must be consolidated and freed from useless restraints; do not involuntarily play the game of that blind bourgeoisie which 20 years ago led your country to disaster as it is now leading ours."

SAVE THE BABY: Bourdet urged the street fighters of Budapest and the demonstrators of Warsaw to look not only at the ills under socialism but to remember the hundreds of thousands who fell in Vietnam and Algiers [the French had not yet opened war on Egypt], the millions of Italian unemployed, the rehabilitated SS troopers of West Germany—all under capitalism. He closed: "And my Polish and Hungarian friends, do not throw out the socialist baby with the dirty bath-water of Stalinism."

For Bourdet and other socialists around the world who have recently hailed "democratization" in socialist lands, the experiments in Poland and Hungary held answers to these questions: Can the sternness of wartime communism be relaxed—and relaxed how much—without opening the gates to counter-revolution? And if counter-revolution threatens can it be allowed to triumph in the name of "democratization?"

THE FORCES: Out of the bloodshed and terror that convulsed Hungary emerged several distinct forces at work. The original spark-plugs of the popular demonstrations for economic, social and political reforms, the students and writers, had been left behind but they represented the "liberalizing", "independent" element that was still committed to socialism.

Opposing them were the old-school communists, followers of ex-premier Rakosi, who saw the Soviets as the only inspiration and chief guardian of socialism, who grudgingly confessed "excesses" in recent years but clung to the political police and feared other "excesses" that might come with the new look. They too seemed to have gone out with the tide before the fateful week-end of Nov. 4.

There were men of the almost forgotten peasant parties of pre-communist Hungary, the anti-communist Zoltan Tildy and Bela Kovacs, suddenly raised from

(Continued on Page 8)

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RJ

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THE MAIL BAG
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Object lessons

BELHAVEN, N. C.

The Polish and Hungarian revolts demonstrate that it is impossible to build a classless society under the tutelage of an elite and all-knowing class who high-handedly impose their will on the great masses of the people. The leadership principle applied to socialism is as obnoxious as that practiced by Nazism. No individual, no committee, no minority and not even the majority, can decide what is right and force humanity to conform to the official view. No system is any good unless there is freedom for the dissenter to dissent and plenty of room for him to carry out his own independent ideas outside the system.

For the Left, the present revolts in Poland and Hungary are object lesson No. 1, for these revolts are by people who have experienced Communist rule.

The good world can never be built by evil means.

Vernon Ward

Lack of appreciation

NEW YORK, N. Y.

In the editorial on "Anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union" in the Sept. 3 **GUARDIAN**, the editors put their own garbled interpretations of events in the mouth of L. F. Ilyichev. He did not say in the interview quoted by Tabitha Petran that "the question of anti-Semitism in the USSR is an internal matter." In fact he asserted the opposite, that there was no anti-Semitism in the USSR! He did say, "The Soviet government's policy was to issue no statements on any of the Soviet victims of past miscarriages of justice."

In view of the admitted thousands of such cases of injustice the Soviet government would have to spend a good part of its working time issuing statements other than carrying forward its national and international tasks. The quote "an internal matter" was lifted from a parenthetical supposition in Miss Petran's article without indicating its source, and the phrase "anti-Semitism" combined with "internal matter" was a deliberate distortion on the part of the editors.

Tabitha Petran's articles seem to me to be the sanest analysis of the alleged anti-Semitism in the USSR that I have read, as Anna Louise Strong's article in the July issue of **Monthly Review** is the sanest I've seen on the overall situation in the USSR, past and present. The careful study of them might help to restore a degree of mental health to the American progressive movement.

To make the comparison between the legal lynchings of the South and the Rosenberg case in our country and the Soviet government's policy toward nationalities, (despite the persecutions in the last apparently unbalanced years of Beria's and Stalin's regime of a section of intellectuals which included all Soviet nationalities) is inexcusable, and reveals a lack of appreciation of the principles and accomplishments of socialism in this field.

J. Johns

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

He tells why it's smart to worry; how to worry your way to success; how to solve health, sex and personality problems too.

Promotion ad for Dr. George W. Crane's column, Pittsburgh **Post-Gazette**, 6/13/56.

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Winner this week: G. Portiz, Pittsburgh. Be sure to enclose original clipping (with date) with each entry.

Overnight utopias

MIAMI, FLA.

I am disturbed by the position that the editors of the GUARDIAN seem prone to take of late regarding the Soviet Union. In the issue of Sept. 3 appears an article, "An Editorial Statement—anti-Semitism and the Soviet Union." This is an appeal for humaneness. It implies that inhumaneness and anti-Semitism are rife. The articles by Tabitha Petran in the same issue seem to completely refute this. The same editorial asks for "the Soviet Union to set a needed world example in the complete elimination of even the semblance of barriers between peoples making up a nation." Evidently they expect this to take place overnight. Rome wasn't built in a day and the Soviet Union can't build a Utopia overnight. They have a big job to do and are busy doing it. Let's give them our full moral support. By doing so we strengthen them and also ourselves.

Oliver Ritchie

Next?

NEW YORK, N.Y.

The Soviet Union's internal sensitiveness to East European developments was shown by the adoption of the Malenkov consumer-goods program in August 1953. That was immediately after East Germany and the people's democracies adopted such programs in response to the Berlin demonstrations. Are the Soviet people content with the abandonment of Malenkov's goals last year?

The Polish Party has attacked anti-Semitism and said that Jewish origin must be no bar to high Party posts: are there no forces in the USSR as well to insist that the Soviet people are grown up enough to do their own reasoning on the basis of the uncensored situation at home and abroad?

Do not the Soviet workers wish trade unions that simply will not permit the development of conditions such as described in Ehrenbourg's **Thaw**? Can we expect the present union bureaucrats to change in response to Khrushchev's urging, or must not the workers themselves take a hand?

Are Soviet students willing to go on being classified with delinquents in their official college press for having original ideas (**Soviet News**, London, Sept. 19, et seq.), or do they wish the freedom of expression enjoyed by the students of Poland and Czechoslovakia?

Can a team of Stalin's former associates possibly lead the deep-going changes needed, any more than the Ochabs and Geros in East Europe, or isn't a new team needed? Do the Soviet people want a Parliament that asks no political questions and launches no investigations, any more than the Poles and Hungarians do? May we not expect to hear soon from the Soviet people?

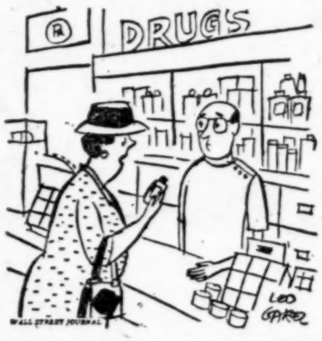
William Mandel

Still waiting

THE DALLES, ORE.

I agree with your editorial (Sept. 3). I am first an American progressive who has always believed that no form of discrimination, large or small, can be justified or rationalized, be it in the Soviet Union, the U. S. or any place on earth. I am also a Jew who has come face to face too many times with anti-Semitism. No rationalization of anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union has satisfied me so far. I'm waiting.

Name Withheld



Wall Street Journal

"Haven't you got a newer miracle drug? This is the same I got last week."

Does he qualify?

SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.

What I would like to know is how does a man like Belfrage find himself qualified, on the basis of a transient visit to a place like the USSR, covering a distance from Riga to Moscow, to pass judgment on its life with all its facets—with all its tragedy and sacrifice; with the mountains of corpses and oceans of spilled blood; rivers of shed tears and sweat—to pass judgment on its democracy in such a bland, smug, self-righteous manner? How does he differ from a White, a Hemingway and a host like them?

Leo Lipson

'Let Robeson Sing'

LANCASTERSHIRE, ENGLAND

The Natl. Paul Robeson Committee has called a national conference on Dec. 2 in Manchester. The sole aim of our committee is to invite Paul Robeson to our country to sing, and request the American government to allow him to come. It is emphatic in its wish not to interfere in the internal affairs of the U.S.A.

The Committee coordinates the many varied organizations wishing to hear Paul Robeson once more in our country. At our conference, all shades of political opinion, religious faiths and all sections of our vast labor movement, numbering many million supporters, will be represented.

To indicate the vast sympathy and admiration for Paul Robeson which exists not only in our country but throughout the world, we are asking for messages of support to be sent to us from every corner of the earth. We would be particularly grateful for the friends of the GUARDIAN to make their feelings on this issue known, by writing and so help me to swell the tide of public opinion, which will make it possible for Paul Robeson to be heard once more throughout the world.

Frank Loesser, Gen. Secy.
Natl. Paul Robeson Comm.
8 Cliff Crescent,
Salford 7, Lancs., England.

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CEDRIC BELFRAGE *Editor-in-Exile* JOHN T. McMANUS *General Manager* JAMES ARONSON *Editor*

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REPORT TO READERS

Tabitha Petran's Tour

THE TREMORS SHAKING OUR EARTH, now violently in Hungary and the Middle East and so ominously elsewhere in the world, require deep-going analysis if we are to know the real causes and respond to them intelligently.

In respect to this, it is the good fortune of all of us that the GUARDIAN's world analyst, Tabitha Petran, has been able to spend so much of this year in Eastern Europe, Central Asia and, most recently, in Egypt. Reliable eye-witnesses to the march of history are rare indeed, and of these Miss Petran is perhaps the best equipped for the job of any we know.

Upon her return this month, Miss Petran is scheduled for a brief speaking tour before resuming her desk at the United Nations. GUARDIAN readers and their friends in four important areas—Chicago Nov. 30, Detroit Dec. 4, Los Angeles Dec. 7 and San Francisco Dec. 14—will meet a calm, unassuming expert whose relentless assessment of world events has won her a prophet's honor at home as well as abroad, notably for her unerring diagnoses of the forces at play in the Cold War period.

SOME OF US at the GUARDIAN have known and worked with Tabitha Petran for much longer than the GUARDIAN's eight years. She was among the first experts to be recruited (from **Time Magazine**) for Ralph Ingersoll's PM back in 1940. Later, immediately following Winston Churchill's Fulton, Mo., speech in March, 1946, sending up the first trial balloon for the Cold War, Miss Petran prepared an independent analysis which she titled "Open Secret." In "Open Secret" she exposed in full detail the developing scheme for the Cold War, including the plan to change public opinion from pro- to anti-Soviet and to utilize the development of atomic energy to terrorize the world rather than benefit it. As much as any other factor, the warning sounded in "Open Secret" stimulated the pro-peace coalition which resulted in the launching of the Progressive Party campaign in 1948. It was a natural consequence for Miss Petran to join the Wallace-Taylor campaign committee as one of its chief advisers on foreign affairs. It was a "natural," too, that she should join the GUARDIAN staff immediately after the '48 campaign.

HER FIRST MEETING will be under the auspices of the Chicago Council for American-Soviet Friendship (see Events Calendar, p. 11). Detroit's (watch next week's Calendar for details) will be run by GUARDIAN subscribers in the Detroit area.

The Los Angeles meeting at the Embassy Dec. 7 is under GUARDIAN sponsorship, but Miss Petran's visit will be honored by an "usher" squad and arrangements committee composed of the heads of the Lawyer's Guild, Sobell Committee and the Los Angeles Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, with Jack Berman, late of the So. Calif. Independent Progressive Party, joining the ushers for old times' sake.

The San Francisco-Bay Area meeting, Dec. 14, at the California Hall auditorium, will be chaired by Vincent Hallinan. Author Albert Kahn, now a West Coast resident, will also speak. A good idea has been suggested for the California Hall meeting: the annual "Christmas Market" bazaar is being held in the same building that weekend, and early comers can dine well for the benefit of a good cause, the California Labor School.

For full details on both California meetings, see the ad on p. 11. We know that you will find an evening with Miss Petran and Editor Jim Aronson stimulating and most rewarding. We all wish we could be with you, too.

—THE GUARDIAN

P.S. It will never be earlier to get started on your holiday shopping. The Guardian Buying Service offers lots of excellent suggestions on Pages 6 & 7. Better get your greeting-card order in quickly, they're going faster than we figured.

WILL THERE ALWAYS BE AN ENGLAND?

The week the Tories defied the world

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IT IS WEDNESDAY, October 31, 1956. A typical grey, chilly British day, with —to mark the season—dead leaves swirling dankly about the squares and parks, and on street corners children shamelessly begging for pennies—for will it not soon be "Guy Fawkes Day"? But a date that will perhaps become familiar to history students as the one on which the Tory jingoes, gibbering with humiliated frustration at the slow crumbling of their domain and power, drove their Old Etonian leaders to the final act of imperial self-destruction.

Israel has invaded Egypt; and the news is that Britain, which is treaty-bound to come to either country's aid if the other attacks it, has promised to join in the armed aggression if Egypt does not submit in 12 hours to occupation of its canal zone. (It is the season, too, of dead treaties swirling in the squares, to be heaped up and put to the fire to keep everything neat.)

THE DAWN IS PINK: The 12 hours have expired; Egypt has not submitted; and at 1 p.m. all Britain is waiting by the radio for the BBC news. The news round-up brings us the studied drawl of a reporter in the Sinai desert, who tells his anxious compatriots that the desert can be very cold at this time of year, that its prevailing color is brown, and that here and there "one" may see partridges and grouse. From Cairo, another newshound reports in an almost identical voice that the dawn there has been pink, but that the defense blackout now in operation varies slightly from the British one of 1940 in that "one" notes overhead "the cold light of stars."

We then learn that the Queen Mother will today visit her family's ancestral castle in the north, where she will see, among other objects collected by her art-loving forebears, an inlaid French piano. Then a far-flung BBC man up on Hudson's Bay describes a new school for Eskimo children, who normally lead an undisciplined life playing around the igloo but, faced now with regular meals, "accept this without demur."

We wait until 6 o'clock, when word comes over the air of the record attendance at the Ladies' Kennel Assn. meeting, a new U. S. servicemen's club at Ipswich, a successful operation on a goldfish "which swallowed a stickleback head first", the extrication of a fireman who fell down a chimney, and the diamond wedding of a Mr. and Mrs. Barry of Clacton. Before these bulletins, but in the same emotionless voice, the news has been led off with a laconic report that British and French planes are bombing "military targets" in Egypt.

SHOUTS OF "SHAME!": At 8 p.m. in the House of Commons lobby, there are only a couple of hundred people waiting to talk to their MP's about the war that has been launched in their name—and you need reminding that the British public takes its time to get off the mark. Thirty of them are dog-collared young men from a Methodist theological college, who have decided to come after hearing that our planes are dropping bombs. A few Labour MP's (no Tories venture forth to meet the people) who have been backed into corners by their constituents protest that they are doing all they can.

They have indeed done a noble day's work, ferociously attacking the Tories, heckling them with shouts of "Shame!", "Hypocrites!", "Resign!", but failing to elicit even an admission that Britain is at war. Party leader Gaitskell has denounced the government's action as "disastrous folly," promised that Labour will oppose it in every "constitutional" way but will "make no attempt to dissuade anybody from carrying out orders of the government." (Tory yells of "You'd better not!")

THE LISTENING PEOPLE: The hour is late, but the House is jammed as Labourite Noel-Baker underlines anew the points the Opposition has made: the hypocrisy of the parading of Israel's grievances by men consistently deaf to them in the past, the criminal defiance of UN, the "smashing to smithereens" of relations with the U. S. and the Commonwealth. When the Tories snigger, he leans toward Foreign Secy. Selwyn Lloyd and says quietly: "When you laugh at the United Nations, at the Commonwealth, at India, the people are listening."

Long after 10 the House—whose original agenda was a Labour protest against the call-up of reservists "to do nothing"—adjourns. Labourites glare with contemptuous hostility at Tories in the jostle for exits. Many Tories—the ones who are concerned about their country acting with a semblance of legality—look glum, but there is no doubt how they will vote tomorrow on Labour's motion of censure.

NO
WAR
OVER
SUEZ!

SOME IN ENGLAND SAW THE DANGER MONTHS AGO
A protest meeting in Trafalgar square last September

* * *

THURSDAY: British bombs are dropping on the country that offended us by being invaded, but life must go on and we learn that Britain's naval chiefs, whose invasion plans are nearing zero hour, spent last night at the Royal Command movie show with Brigitte Bardot, Marilyn Monroe and Her Majesty.

The most fantastic thing is that Britain has gone to war without even the approval of the **Times.** On Wednesday the **Times** expressed "deep disquiet" about the blow to Anglo-U. S. relations, and pointed out that the ultimatum required Egypt to leave part of its own territory to the invaders. (Was it, the paper that is a ruling-class Bible seemed to ask, entirely sportsmanlike?) Today, showing deeper concern in its ponderous way, the **Times** questions the wisdom of the "intervention" on several grounds but says "the real question" is whether it "will be speedily effective in stopping fighting." It is clear that the Tories are gambling on being able to present the world with a quick **fait accompli** by substituting a stooge government for Nasser's before resuming their homage to legality. If they bring this off, the **Times** will forgive and forget, but it fears that the gamble may have been too risky.

PRESS REACTION: "If all goes well, America will change its tune," cables Randolph Churchill from New York, where Britain's aggression now enables him to "walk around UN lobbies with a very much higher head than I did three weeks ago." This is the Beaverbrook press—about as influential as the N. Y. **Daily News**—which, unlike almost all the others, feels we are embarked upon "a splendid war" (**Daily Express,** Oct. 31). Today the **Express** sees the end of "Britain as we know it" if we don't impose "peace" on the invaded Egyptians.

The **Manchester Guardian,** giving three editorials to the crisis, calls the government's action "a disaster of the first magnitude . . . to recover [from it] will take years—if, indeed, it is ever possible . . . The world, again, will see us chiefly as ruthless repressers." The third editorial makes the reader blink with amazement. After "hoping" that "most will do their military duty as best they can", it instructs those who oppose the war in what they must do to avoid serving in it.

Dourly silent queues wait in the street to buy papers which are full of hostile comment from all over the world. The British public appears dazed by the knowledge that almost nobody loves Britain. Even Adenauer's party in W. Germany is "seriously concerned", and in most countries the belief is general that Israel's attack took place with Anglo-French collusion. Nehru accuses Britain of "naked aggression", and the **Times of India** of "deceit and treachery of a kind for which it would be difficult to find an adequate parallel since the days of Hitlerite Germany."

THE LOBBY IS FULL: As Tory leaders explain to Commons that the object is to keep the Suez Canal open, the papers headline as if in triumph: "Suez Shipping Virtually Stopped." But in the House something that only happened twice before in living memory has occurred: the Labour onslaught has developed into such a bedlam that the Speaker suspended proceedings. Veteran Labourite Sydney Silverman sparked it by demanding to know how British soldiers taken prisoner will be protected since there has been no declaration of war.

All London wants to witness the dramatic Commons session and even MP's wives cannot get tickets. After an afternoon stuffing envelopes in the garret office of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, which is circulating 150,000 "Stop the War" leaflets for Sunday's demonstration in Trafalgar Square (see p. 10), I get down to the House at 8 p.m. The debate and the uproar have been resumed in the chamber, and the lobby is filled with people, their anger controlled as only British anger can be—mostly young folk, as are also those waiting in a long, patient line outside.

NAZIS ARE QUOTED: A big group of Oxford students has got Sir Edward Boyle, economic secy. to the Treasury—a small Tory fish, but the biggest they could flush out—up against a wall near the statue of Gladstone. No voice in the closely-packed group around Sir Edward is raised above normal tone. He finally escapes with a quick mop of his brow, and one of the students says: "Well, his attitude shows that some Tory groups are uneasy."

In the chamber Aneurin Bevan is winding up the censure debate prior to the foregone party-line vote, quoting Nazi ultimatums to Norway and Poland couched in almost the same words as the Tories' to Egypt. Before adjournment, the Opposition makes a new onslaught on the government, for "police brutality" in riding down the students demonstrating outside. Eden, who has been periodically "hear, heared" by Sir Winston Churchill, retains his outward calm.

A lone young Tory who has opposed his party is surrounded by infuriated colleagues, and Labourites swarm toward them, shouting: "Leave him alone!" No honorable strikes or is struck; the debate that has torn all Britain in half reaches the violent stage only outside the Mother of Parliaments, where, as I emerge, hundreds of cops are still "moving on" the remnants of the student demonstrators. There have been some casualties, but not many, for London's foot and mounted police are expert in "handling crowds."

* * *

FRIDAY: The 8 a.m. BBC news reports that only Australia, New Zealand and Israel have supported Britain and France against the UN cease-fire resolution. The recorded voice of John Foster Dulles sounds strangely, reminding UN that unless force is renounced the world will "again be a world of anarchy." The ominous developments in Hungary are back in prominence, but even the rabidly anti-Soviet Intl. Confedn. of Trade Unions, meeting in Vienna, has issued a "fervent appeal to all concerned to cease military action forthwith" in Egypt.

Only the out-and-out pacifists, somebody remarks in the bus downtown, seem any longer to have a morally unassailable position. Outside Buckingham Palace stiff, busbied soldiers stand motionless in the drizzle preparing to Change the Guard. In the House, where a debate on Civil Aviation is scheduled, the uproar begins again as Labour leaders press for the government to say whether it will abide by the UN decision. Eden lounges on the front bench, constantly knitting and unknitting his hands, as facially imperturbable as Selwyn Lloyd who was almost howled down as a "warmonger" at a Tory rally last night. After nearly an hour, Labour's efforts to discuss the war peter out against the Tories' blank wall and the wigged Speaker's insistence on the rules of procedure.

ANOTHER KOREA? Two columns of readers' letters in the **Manchester Guardian** are led off by Bertrand Russell's outburst against the government's "criminal lunacy." The **Times,** still mainly worried by the blow to U. S. relations, rebukes the government for "lack of candor" with Washington. But the afternoon press headlines jubilantly: "Ike Backs Britain's 'Police' Plan" (for a UN "police force" on the canal); and the government, agreeing to an extra session on Saturday, solemnly announces it will ask UN to intervene in Hungary.

An attempt to repeat the Korean "police action" formula seems imminent—and to maneuver the U.S.S.R. back into the world limelight as chief villain. The question in Britain, as a week-end approaches with hundreds of mass protest meetings against Tory aggression, is: Can the "old boys" of international reaction pull it off this time? Will the British Labour leaders, who are sponsoring the protest meetings, fall for another "UN police action"?

In the evening the BBC announces in the same refined and bloodless tones, as a first short item, that massive British and French landings in Egypt will take place within 24 hours. And the dead leaves swirl like treaties through the squares of old London . . . .

THEY GOT DOWN TO CASES

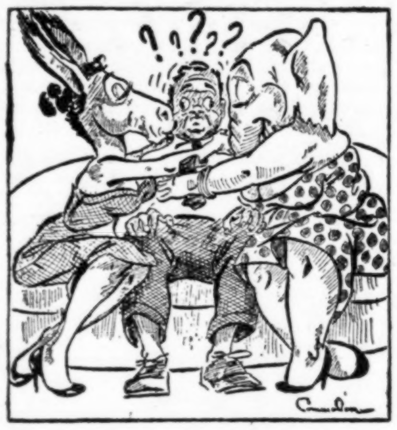
How the Negro papers saw the 1956 campaign

By Eugene Gordon

AS A PRINTER spaces or "justifies" a line of type to make it exactly the intended length, so the Negro press at Presidential election time "justifies" its political line of the preceding four years. When a Negro newspaper publicly announces its choice for U.S. President, it says, in effect: If we put this man and this party in control of the government for the next four years, our fight since the last national election will come to life in the form of Executive orders and legislation. That was the substance of what five leading Negro newspapers said just before the Nov. 6 election.

The Baltimore **Afro-American** reminded its readers that it had coined the slogan, "A vote for any Democrat is a vote for Eastland." The **Afro** recalled that it had been disturbed by Eastland's rise to chairmanship of the Senate Judiciary Committee and the Democratic party leadership's "cynical" acquiescence.

TIME FOR A DIVORCE? The paper's fears were proved warranted when the 84th Congress bypassed the Administration's civil rights program and Eastland declared to a White Citizens Council meeting that he had blocked Congressional consideration of it. While conceding that some of the Negro's best friends in Congress were Democrats, the **Afro** argued that to elevate "demagogues" like Eastland and Georgia's Gov. Talmadge—just elected to the Senate—to positions of prominence "under the senseless and rigid application of the seniority rule is evidence enough that the Democratic party lacks the power and the will to control its 'know-nothing' wing."



Chicago Defender

This is so sudden!

If Negroes let the Democrats win Senate control, the **N.Y. Amsterdam News** said, Eastland would "ride right back" to power. Managing editor James L. Hicks likened the Negro vote to a good wife and the Democratic party to her neglectful husband. Hicks thought it was time for a divorce: "And when we get it we don't need to go marrying up with the Republicans for the next 20 years." Negroes should flirt with "both sides from the middle," Hicks said, and since they were not sure of either party, "don't let them be sure of us."

LITTLE DEMAGOGY: The Pittsburgh **Courier,** viewing the Presidential contest as "not between Eisenhower and Stevenson, but between Eisenhower (who believes in equal Americans) and Eastland (who believes in white supremacy)", demanded: "Which is YOUR choice, Eisenhower and EQUALITY or Eastland and WHITE SUPREMACY?" Most papers, however, avoided demagogy.

The Chicago **Defender** acknowledged that the Democratic party's Northern "liberal wing" was handicaped by the Dixiecrats and that the "Eisenhower Republicans" were plagued by their own die-hards "who join hands with the Dixiecrats in the U.S. Congress to defeat liberal legislation." The paper credited "good intentions" to both candidates but it supported Stevenson.

The California **Eagle** did, too; it said a vote for Stevenson would be "a vote for the social reforms of the New Deal and the Fair Deal . . . and a sound foreign policy."

NO "SOLID" VOTE: A Negro paper's "loyalty" in the past has been known to shift to the party which offered the bigger handout. The other party then stopped advertising in that paper and withheld further "contributions." This year, however, though some columnists gossiped about "deals," almost every paper which published ads of both parties before it announced its choice continued receiving the ads. The reason was that both parties realized there was no longer any such thing as a solid "Negro" vote or even a trend among Negroes.

If the day is not completely gone when Negro "leaders" may be bought with promises of political jobs, the time seems forever passed when a Negro Republican like the late Charles W. Anderson was both that party's main symbol among his people and its chief appointee. Anderson, in addition to being a sort of Grover Whalen for the Negro on New York's social front, was President Theodore Roosevelt's choice for Collector of the Port of New York and holder of numerous other important offices. That—and the fact that Abraham Lincoln was a Republican—seemed to keep the Negro vote in the GOP pocket until Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

HEAVY REGISTRATION: There are today scores of Negroes in significant political offices. They were appointed by both Democrats and Republicans. Publicists of neither national committee, however, dared risk the Negro voter's anger by laboring that fact. The Democrats emphasized "the right to buy a home anywhere in the U.S. and to live in it," federal aid for "medical education and hospital construction," and home rule for the District of Columbia and statehood for Alaska and Hawaii; the Republicans, first-class citizenship, civil rights and more jobs.

Negroes, according to the Dept. of Justice in a report on the "purging" of Negro voters in five Southern states, registered in larger numbers than ever before in areas where they had been disfranchised. The Negroes' newspapers kept this and other pertinent facts alive for both parties.

On the whole, the Negro press came nearer this year than in previous election campaigns to reflecting the Negro voters' true interests.

A UNION-BUSTING BINGE UNDER THE SUN

There'll be no lei for Eastland in Hawaii

By Lawrence Emery

THERE IS NOTHING like a trip to Hawaii in mid-winter. Last Oct. 17 Sen. James O. Eastland (D.-Miss.) announced that his Senate Internal Security Subcommittee will make the expedition to the semi-tropical islands just after Thanksgiving. But it won't be all pleasure: the committee will conduct public hearings on the Red Menace from Nov. 27 to 30.

Sen. Eastland apparently began planning the jaunt some time in September. On Oct. 2 the subcommittee's chief counsel, Robert Morris, arrived in Honolulu and conducted a "preliminary" survey, during which he interviewed William B. Stephenson, chairman of the Territorial Commission on Subversive Activities. At that time Morris told the Honolulu **Advertiser** that it was neither a probability nor a likelihood that later hearings would be held, but only a "possibility." He said a decision would not be made until after he returned to Washington and reported.

A THREAT IS "POSED": Sen. Eastland filed a transcript of the Stephenson interview on Oct. 16 and told Congress next day that it had convinced him of the need for an investigation. He said: "The testimony of Mr. Stephenson reveals that the situation in the Hawaiian Islands poses a threat to the security of this country. It also reflects that the communist organization in the U.S. continues to be a powerful and formidable force."

But while Eastland was making his public announcement of the hearings, the **Advertiser** on the same day reported that subpenas dated Oct. 1—a day before Morris arrived in the islands—were being served. The paper said: "A Senate investigator who came to Hawaii on Oct. 2 to see if a new communist probe was warranted was dealing apparently from a stacked deck."

On Oct. 15 the Washington correspondent of the Honolulu **Star-Bulletin** reported that "all members of the nine-man subcommittee are being invited to make the Hawaii trip." He neglected to say who did the inviting.

MAIN TARGETS: It was reported that up to 40 subpenas have been issued. In hearings conducted by the House Committee on Un-American Activities in Honolulu in 1950, 39 witnesses were indicted for contempt but all of the cases were eventually thrown out of court.

Main targets of the probe are the Intl. Longshoremen's & Warehousemen's Union and the United Public Workers, both independent. Also under subpena are representatives of the Honolulu **Record,** a progressive weekly, and members of the law firm of Bouslog and Symonds. The firm represents both unions, defended the 1950 contempt victims, and also participated in the 1952 Smith Act trial in Honolulu.

Jack W. Hall, ILWU regional director, and Antonio Rania, head of an ILWU local, said: "If Sen. Eastland has any time to spare from his Dixiecrating to investigate un-American activities, he should begin forthwith in his own State of Mississippi, where thousands of Negro Americans are being denied their civil rights because of such men as he."

BRIDGES REGISTERS: In San Francisco ILWU president Harry Bridges said it was men like "Eastland and his kind" that caused him to register as a Republican this year. He said his registration didn't necessarily mean he will vote Republican but that he refused to be listed as a Democrat while men like Eastland remain in power.

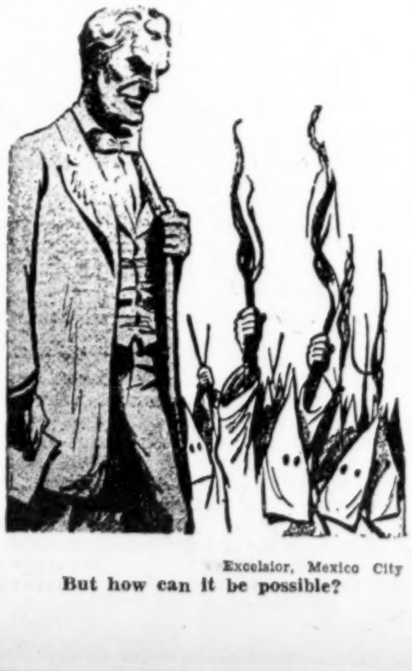
Another union spokesman said the hearings represent "an attempt to smear the ILWU and to interfere with the election."

On the election angle, Stephenson has publicly complained that the Territorial 1955 Democratic legislature killed his Subversive Activities Commission by granting it only $20,000 instead of the $47,500 asked by Republican Gov. Samuel W. King.

ANTI-STATEHOOD: Others saw the probe as another episode in Eastland's continuing war against Statehood for Hawaii. During Congressional debate on that question in March, 1954, Eastland declared that if Hawaii was admitted to the Union, its government would "be influenced by the international communist conspiracy just as communists today wield great power" in the Territorial government. He added that its two Senators, "if not communists, would be subject to influence from Moscow." He charged that communists not only "dominate" the Democratic Party but "exert influence" on the Republican Party in Hawaii. (What he most dislikes is the fact that the Island population is overwhelmingly non-white).

The Honolulu **Record** recalled that at a press conference in New York on Sept. 23, CP Genl. Secy. Eugene Dennis declared that the CP has no members in either Hawaii or Alaska, "unless somebody is out in Hawaii on vacation." Noting that no Honolulu daily had reported this statement, the **Record** said:

"Some who have read Mainland newspapers are asking if the dailies ignored the news item because it would contribute largely to killing local interest in the hearing and expose Eastland as a junketing rascal."



Excelsior, Mexico City

But how can it be possible?

Dec. 8-9

Parley in L.A. on foreign born

NINETY prominent Americans have joined in sponsoring the 24th Annual Nat. Conference of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born to be held on Saturday and Sunday, Dec. 8 and 9, at the Hotel Alexandria, Los Angeles.

Among the sponsors are Miss Emily Balch, Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Waldo Frank, Dr. Alice Hamilton, Rev. Fleming James, Rev. Kenneth Hughes, Rt. Rev. Walter Mitchell, Dr. Bela Schick, Prof. Malcolm Sharp, Rev. F. Hastings Smyth, Prof. Leroy Waterman, Rev. Loyd Worley.

The ACPFB, a non-partisan organization, each year holds a conference on ways and means to help assure the traditional concepts of equality and fair play for this nation's 14,000,000 foreign-born residents. At present, the ACPFB is defending more than 300 persons facing Walter-McCarran Law deportation proceedings and more than 48 persons facing revocation of citizenship under the law's denaturalization provisions.

The theme of the Dec 8-9 conference will be "What the Walter-McCarran Law Means to the American People." Discussion on the theme will take place in four panels. Organizations are invited to send one or more delegates and individuals may attend as observers or visitors. A copy of the Call to the Conference can be obtained by writing to: American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, 23 W. 26th St., New York 10, N. Y.

NO SINGING COMMERCIALS AT THE SECURITY COUNCIL

Television vetoes UN in Middle East crisis

By James Aronson

AS THE CIGARETTES danced their filtered way across the television screens on Oct. 30, and the brittle-faced girls with their permanent smiles demonstrated the wonders of Super-Glub, the radio-television editor of the N. Y. **Times** sat down at his typewriter and tore off a blast against the vast network broadcasting industry.

In the heart of the city, said Jack Gould in his column Oct. 31, the United Nations Security Council was meeting in dramatic session to try to halt the war in Egypt and to prevent a new world war. But not one of the major networks—television or radio—had felt it necessary to break into the parade of soap opera, weary old Westerns and rock 'n' roll to switch to the UN and bring the debate into the homes of an anxious nation. The industry "disgraced itself," said Gould:

"Whose air is it, anyhow?"

"In television there was one notable local exception, WPIX, the outlet owned by the **Daily News.** It carried live the heart of the UN discussion. It did a tremendous job . . .

"On radio there was only one local exception—the ever-reliable WNYC, owned by the City of New York. It carried everything from start to finish."

"THE BLEAK RECORD": But even WNYC had to leave the air at 10 p.m. (except for its FM band) because it operates on the same frequency as a station in Minneapolis, and the Federal Communications Commission has for years refused to grant it the right to broadcast after 10.

"In short," said Gould, "not one of the city's 20 standard stations nor one of its seven video outlets broadcast the Council deliberations. This was the bleak record in the late evening of the world's largest community, the home of the UN."

Gould noted that when the UN headquarters was built, its planners provided special equipment for TV broadcasting and that all of this was available on Oct. 30. He wrote:

"The networks simply don't have an excuse for their behavior."

Television broadcasters always excuse their inaction "on the basis of cost," he said. "It is time they stopped whimpering and acted like grownups . . . If television economics are in such a deplorable state, it is time the leaders of broadcasting had a good hard look at their operations. If television is to be only a parlor carnival, let it say so and stop its pompous proclamations about being in the field of communications."

IT WAS NOT AT ALL: The networks were quick to reply; their statements were carried in Gould's column of Nov. 1. For ABC, John Daly, vice president in charge of news and public affairs, said his department had had to decide whether to carry the debate "entire or not at all," and decided not at all. The reasons: "The uncertainty of scheduling of Security Council sessions, the frequent postponement and delay of sessions, the stultifying effect of triple translation, and the involved character of the debate itself." It was, said Daly, a story that "needed editing."

Why it could not be edited, he did not say. Nor did he make any reference to the stultifying effect of television's saturation coverage of the triple-talk at the recent national political conventions (bought and paid for).

For NBC, Davidson Taylor (same job) issued a statement that read like a high-powered promotion piece to be printed in three colors on glossy paper. It depicted NBC in a state of emergency mobilization when the Middle East crisis broke, with microphones and typewriters poised for take-off. On radio, he said, in something more than a 24-hour period, NBC had given "227 minutes and 45 seconds of newscasts" on the crisis; 32,000 words had been spoken by commentators (none needing translation); on television, 45 minutes of news in the same period.

CBS and Mutual made no statements.

TIMES CRITICIZED TOO: In his comment Daly noted, with pointed direction, that WQXR, the radio station owned by the N.Y. **Times,** "agreed with our decision." To this Gould replied with a fine show of independent courage:

"The citation of WQXR is not persuasive; two wrongs do not make a right. In this writer's opinion, the radio station of the **Times** should have picked up the UN debate when WNYC signed off. The WQXR management disagrees; it believes its special half-hour bulletins were adequate." He made these other points.

- WPIX has the same problems as ABC, yet went to the UN.
- When vital UN history was being made, "NBC video was being fascinated by 'Queen for a Day' in Hollywood."
- One of the TV's great powers is to show actuality as it happens: "If a meeting of the peoples of the world to assure their own survival does not qualify in this respect, further comment seems futile."

Gould's comment—despite the network's weasel words—hit home. On Oct. 31, WPIX was joined at the UN by WOR-TV (Mutual) and WOR radio. Newark's WNVJ asked for a feed from UN headquarters. WICC of Bridgeport, Conn., joined in. Westinghouse Broadcasting made arrangements for its network in several cities. ABC and CBS had special afternoon programs on the crisis. NBC-TV announced that it would provide extra time for its regular news programs. On Nov. 1, when the General Assembly met, the coverage improved further. Again WPIX distinguished itself: it carried the session uninterrupted from 5 p.m. to 3 a.m. Nov. 2.

FOOTNOTE: The city station, WNYC, appealed to the FCC on Oct. 31 for special permission to remain on the air after 10 p.m. to broadcast emergency sessions from the UN. Director Seymour N. Siegel said in a telegram: "I appeal to you in this extraordinary emergency situation to suspend all necessary commission rules."

Permission was refused. The crisp fall American air over Minnesota was preserved intact for Elvis Presley.

LOYALTY OATHS AND DISHONORABLE DISCHARGES

This is the Army, Mr. Bernstein

ON THE MORNING of Oct. 18 Pvt. Theodore Bernstein, 23, said goodbye to his wife Nina (expecting a child in January) and drove from his Trenton, N. J., home to nearby Ft. Dix. When he came home that night, Bernstein was a civilian carrying the stigma of an undesirable discharge. That day he had been held incommunicado under armed guard, driven through Trenton in handcuffs, humiliated, given $5.27 and a cheap suit, escorted to the gate and warned never to appear at an army base again.

On Dec. 3 Bernstein would have completed his two-year tour of duty and been eligible for an honorable discharge. His superiors had recommended him for promotion. This was the chronology of Bernstein's last day as a soldier Oct. 18.

In mid-morning an officer interrupted Bernstein on the job as company clerk, told him he was to take a physical. Bernstein's first inkling of what lay in store was a notation on a slip of paper: "Reason for X-ray: separation."

EXPEDITED: In two hours, while Bernstein pleaded for a chance to telephone his wife, the Army whipped him through a separation procedure that usually takes days. He was told the top brass of the post wanted him expedited. He was handed documents to sign which would have been an admission by Bernstein that his Army service had been less than honorable. Bernstein refused.

At the end of the examination, the Army came up against a problem. He couldn't check in his clothes and equipment because they were at his Trenton home. Bernstein was turned over to the MP's. While his guards had lunch, they locked Bernstein in a cell with orders to talk to no one. A malaprop guard told him bluntly: "You're incognito."

The MP's came for Bernstein 45 minutes later, slapped handcuffs on him and drove him to Trenton. A block from his house they took the cuffs off but ostentatiously checked the clips in their 45's. They allowed him no chance to talk with his shocked wife, only time to pack his Army things and then brought him back to the base.

NO APOLOGY: At Ft. Dix they checked him out, handed him $5.27 mustering out pay, a cheap civilian suit, and an order banning him from all Army posts. When he refused the final slip of paper, his guards escorting him to the gate slapped it on his windshield.

Ex-GI Bernstein now faces the prospect of seeking jobs, knowing that he will not get one or, if he finds one, will not keep it once an employer asks to see his discharge paper. When the press ran the story of Bernstein's last day, Brig. Gen. Lloyd R. Moses, commanding at Ft. Dix, said he was ordering an investigation. A spokesman for the base told the N.Y. **Post** it was a "misunderstanding" and added: "It is regrettable that Theodore Bernstein was apparently accorded some irregular and unwarranted treatment on Oct. 18 while being processed for an undesirable discharge." But Bernstein himself has received no apology.

Behind the harsh treatment lay Bernstein's record blemished only by a law suit he and seven others brought against the Commanding General of the First Army to test the Army's "loyalty" program. Behind the eight stood a large but yet undisclosed number of soldiers who live in the twilight Army category of "security risk." Each of the eight had stood on the Fifth Amendment in refusing to fill out the Army's loyalty questionnaire. Each had been given the usual Army hearing with the burden of proof on the accused and no confrontation of witnesses permitted. The charges stressed continued relations with wives, brothers, parents, friends of suspect political activities or connections.

NO REVIEW: The case of the Ft. Dix Eight shook the top Army brass and won lower court rulings which described the Army procedure as a "shocking perversion of the elementary canons of due process." But on technicalities Courts threw out the GI plea for an injunction against the Army's practice of giving undesirable discharges for "offenses" before induction. The principle of "honorable discharge for honorable" service was acknowledged by the Army so that any soldier completing his tour of duty was reasonably assured of an honorable discharge. The Army allowed itself an out, though: it could boot out a soldier at any moment up to the end of his tour and still hand him an undesirable.

While the case of the eight was pending in the courts the Army was cautious. Six of the eight completed their tour. Two of them, Bertram Lassuck and Rudolph Thomas, were given honorable separation and retained in the Reserves where the threat of an undesirable discharge still hangs. Samuel Suckow, Stanley Hauser, David and Jonathan Lubbell were given "indeterminate" discharges which could be changed to honorable or undesirable when the Army made up its mind. The Army was waiting for the Supreme Court to rule. After the first week of the Supreme Court's present term the Justices announced that they would not hear the case of the eight GI's.

LONG FIGHT AHEAD: The Army acted quickly. It mailed undesirable discharges to the four "indeterminates." Then it opened up on Bernstein. The last one of the eight, Bernard Radoff, is still at Ft. Dix, due for a discharge Dec. 2.

The next steps in the long fight to save hundreds and perhaps thousands of GI's from an Army-inspired blacklist, are these: Bernstein and the four others now holding undesirable discharges are to appeal first to the Army Discharge Review Board, then possibly to the Army Board for Correction of Military Records. If they get no satisfaction, they can go into the civil courts, but these require that all Army recourses be exhausted first.

Victor Rabinowitz, Bernstein's lawyer, indicated it would be a long legal pull, but he added that other GI cases now pending in the Washington, D.C., Appellate Court might win a definitive ruling on the Army "loyalty" program that would settle the military witch-hunt.

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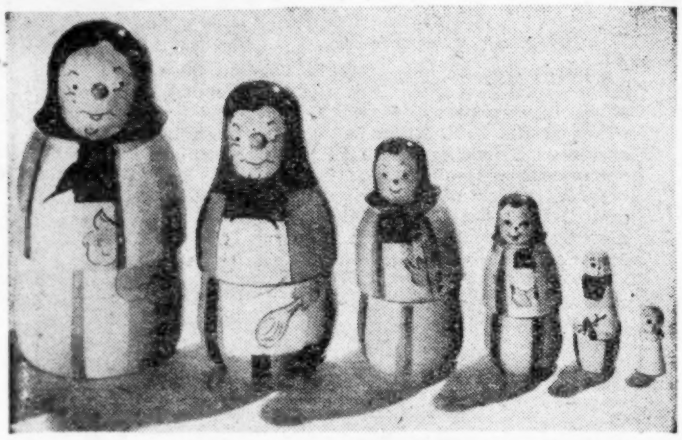

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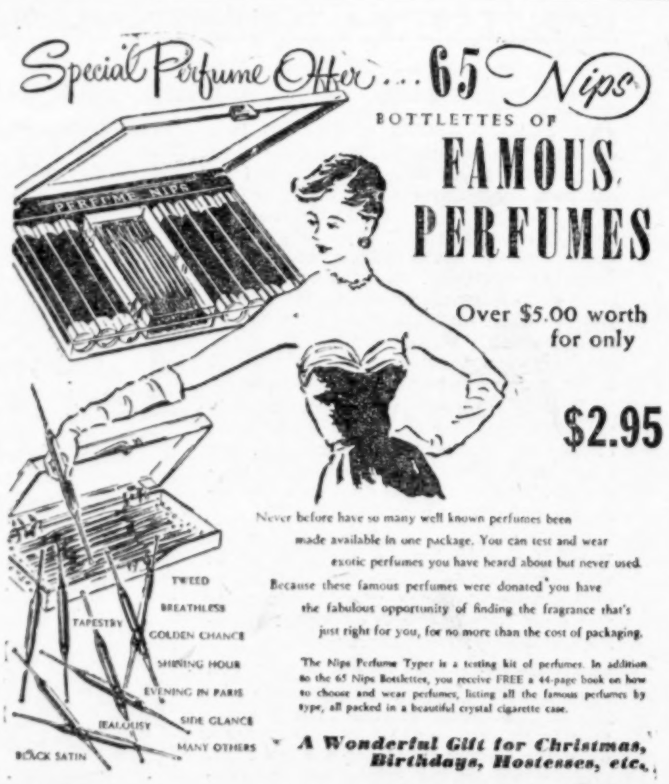

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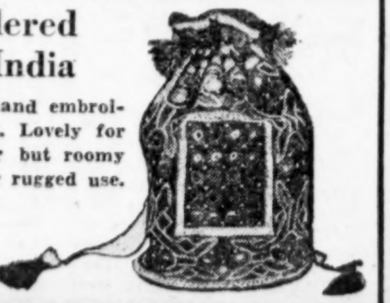

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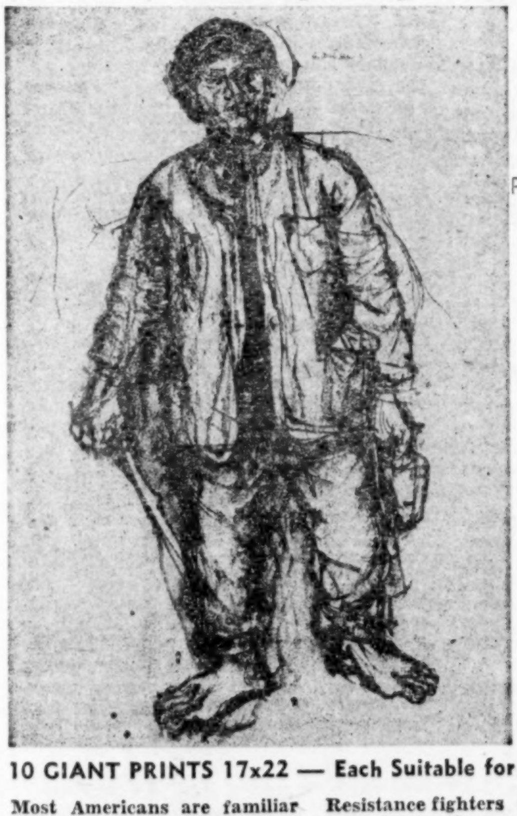

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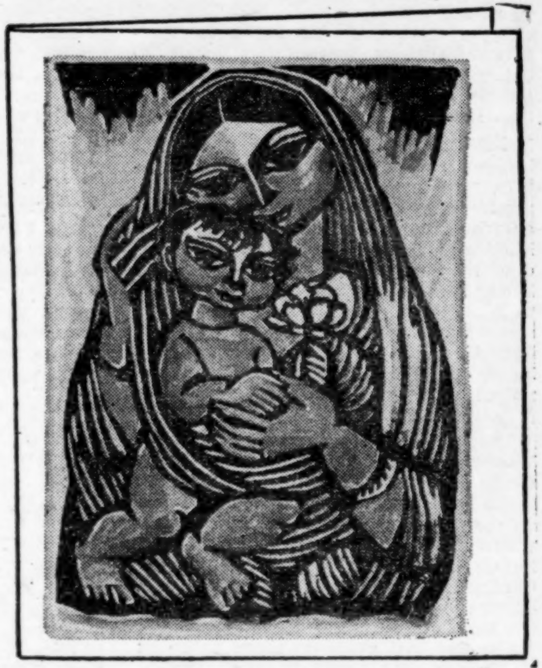

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East European crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

outlawry and oblivion to cabinet posts.

The Smallholders revived their newspaper and became one of many "parties", ranging from social-democrat to belligerently anti-communist, that seemed to blossom feverishly as fast as printing presses could turn out letterheads and manifestoes.

MINDSZENTY FREED: On Oct. 31 a Hungarian tank unit pulled up at a country house in the village of Felsopeteny, received the quick surrender of armed guards there and told Joseph Cardinal Mindszenty that he was free. The Cardinal reportedly answered: "You are good Hungarian boys." Then he was escorted to Budapest where he officiated at Mass and announced that he might form a Catholic Party. Asked whether it would be an opposition group, he said it would not be in opposition if it were part of a governing coalition.

The Cardinal's hopes zoomed. While Western correspondents reported that the Cardinal held Hungary's political future in his hands, he smiled and said he would shortly broadcast to the nation a plan whereby the country could emerge from its difficulties. In February, 1949, the Cardinal had been convicted of treason, currency speculation and other crimes on the basis of his own confession.

The Cardinal made no move to check the terror that raged in the country. Clearly there had been resentment at Soviet troops on Hungarian soil, and dissatisfaction with Soviet influence in the past government. Many of the nation's ills had been blamed on Soviet troops. Nevertheless there had been fraternizing in the early days of the demonstrations and Hungarian children had perched on Soviet tanks. Even after the bloody riots in Parliament Square in which a Soviet tank fired on the demonstrators (under the false impression it was being attacked, according to the N.Y. **Times**), there were some signs of friendship in the country.

DIFFERING BEHAVIOR: In Gyor, the N.Y. **Times'** Homer Bigart reported, the small Soviet garrison, in order to give the people free rein, left their barracks and retired to the woods, took their wives and children with them and set up tents. Bigart wrote: "They have not shot anyone. The townspeople show their gratitude by taking the Russians eggs and milk." Because the woods were cold and wet, the people of Gyor invited the Soviet soldiers back into the city to stay until they were ready to leave.

But elsewhere frenzied elements tore through cities, destroying buildings, dragging Communist officials out into the street, hanging and burning. N.Y. **Post** correspondent Seymour Freidin wrote from Budapest on Nov. 2: "A disturbing feature has appeared here to mar the heroic revolution ... Anti-Semitic speeches were uttered Wednesday night in some districts of Budapest, punctuated by inflammatory cries of 'Down with the Jews.' I learned yesterday that the surgical staffs in at least two hospitals which worked without rest throughout the fighting had been forced to leave because as Jews they had been subjected to anti-Semitic denunciation."

Riding this tiger by holding on to its tail was Imre Nagy, at 60 a tall, heavy man with a taste for conviviality who years ago was convinced that Hungary would have to make its own road to socialism. In the past few weeks Nagy seemed to be trying different roads and discarding them rapidly. After expulsion from the CP, he came back to take the helm when the students and writers demanded reforms. He was in power when Soviet tanks fired at demonstrating Hungarians. (Later he denied that he had called for Soviet help under the Warsaw Pact, blaming it on former CP head Erno Gero and former Premier Andras Hegedus who, said Nagy, "will have to answer for this grave guilt before the nation.")

JANOS KADAR
Offered 15 points for peace

THE PROMISES: Nagy's views changed swiftly with each new demand. Neither his concessions nor his pleas brought an end to rampaging mobs. He promised in quick succession a truce to collectivization, free elections, a multiple party system, a return from a communist regime to a "popular front regime, end of political police, institution of workers' councils, negotiation with the Soviets on troop withdrawals. He shook his cabinet almost daily, producing new combinations, resurrecting old forgotten men who might appease the right. He repeatedly told the "revolutionaries" they had won. Still, the rioting continued to convulse Hungary.

THE TRAGEDY OF A NATION
In the violence of the fighting in Hungary, human beings committed atrocities beyond belief as the country endured a state of anarchy. Above, a man described as a political policeman is hanged by his heels after having been beaten to death.

On Tuesday, Oct. 30, the Russians pulled out of Budapest. In Moscow an official statement said the Soviet government was ready to re-examine the question of stationing Soviet troops in countries under the Warsaw Pact.

In Washington President Eisenhower took a long step toward peaceful co-existence: ". . . if the Soviet Union indeed faithfully acts upon its announced intention, the world will witness the greatest forward stride toward justice, trust and understanding among nations in our generation." Eisenhower went further, broke all U.S. precedent in talking of a Communist state when he said the regime of Polish Premier Wladislaw Gomulka, "it seems, will strive genuinely to serve the Polish people."

VIOLENCE GOES ON: But in Hungary the Soviet moves brought no end to the chaos. Soviet tanks were attacked as they withdrew. Inside Budapest mobs looted bookshops and tossed books onto bonfires, then set fire to CP headquarters, while 12-year-olds were given tommy-guns to hunt CP officials.

On Thursday morning, Nov. 1, Soviet troops were reported on the move across Poland, re-entering Hungary, moving back into the outskirts of Budapest, taking command of key rail and road junctions. Nagy announced that he had unilaterally repudiated the Warsaw Pact which provides legal justification for the presence of Soviet troops, declared his country neutral and asked the United Nations to guarantee Hungary's neutrality.

On Friday and again on Saturday, the UN Security Council, answering repeated appeals from Nagy, met on Hungary. Soviet representatives Arkady A. Sobolev opposed taking up the matter, declaring it to be Hungary's internal affair. He neither confirmed nor denied stories of Soviet troop movements but indicated that press accounts were not necessarily reliable. Meanwhile word had come that talks had begun with the Soviets looking toward withdrawal of the troops. Nagy announced that "a promising start" had been made. Yugoslavia's Joza Brilej urged the Council to "refrain from anything that might impede the negotiations." U.S. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge offered a resolution of condemnation but did not take it to a vote, agreeing to postpone discussion to Monday morning.

GRIM NIGHT: Then followed the grimmest Saturday night in recent history.

A little after 11 p.m. N.Y. time (five a.m. in Budapest), Nagy in a radio broadcast announced that Soviet troops were attacking Budapest. The official Hungarian news agency said: "The Russian criminals have cheated us." Shortly after midnight in N.Y., Lodge interrupted the debate on the Egyptian war to confirm the report of fighting, announcing that the U.S. staff in Budapest had taken refuge in the Embassy cellar. He asked for a prompt meeting of the Council Sunday morning.

The Council met at 3 a.m. and two hours later voted on the U.S. resolution ordering withdrawal of Soviet troops and immediate UN investigation. The Soviet Union cast the only negative vote—enough to veto it. Yugoslavia abstained. On Sunday afternoon a second emergency session of the UN Assembly—running concurrently with the Middle East session—was called.

In the debate Sobolev said: "There is no doubt that the actions of the reactionary forces in Hungary are also the result of a long-standing preparation by the imperialist countries." He said Nagy had proven to be "an accomplice of the reactionary forces." Order was being restored and once it was achieved, the Soviets would discuss withdrawal of troops with the Hungarians and other Warsaw Pact nations, said Sobolev.

MANY ABSTENTIONS: Sobolev's statement repeated in substance an editorial in Sunday's **Pravda.** In the end the U.S. resolution was passed by a vote of 50 for, 8 against, with 15 abstentions, indicating considerably less agreement than the UN found in the Egyptian debate. Most of the Socialist bloc voted against the resolution but Yugoslavia abstained. Also abstaining were many in the Asian-African group with whom the Soviet Union had allied itself on the war in Egypt. These included India, Indonesia, Burma, Ceylon and the Arab countries. Finland also abstained. Hungary was listed as absent.

By Sunday night Nagy was reported in the custody of the Soviet troops. Cardinal Mindszenty had taken refuge in the U.S. Embassy. Censorship shut off all reliable information from inside Hungary. Radio announcers calling for UN intervention and the landing of U.S. paratroops went off the air and others came on urging people to "disarm the bandits and go back to work." New deadlines were issued for the surrender of arms.

A new cabinet of the "Hungarian Revolutionary Workers and Peasants Government" broadcast an appeal and a program. It was signed by Janos Kadar, premier, and a full slate of officials. Kadar had been prominent in one of Nagy's last cabinets when he was hailed as a "new look" Communist though Western papers quickly tagged him a Stalinist.

THE PROGRAM: Their first broadcast denounced "the Rakosi-Gero clique" of the last 12 years and equally assailed the "reactionaries" who "want to set again on the people's throats gendarmes, policemen, the whole odd, accursed, hateful oppressive regime hated by the people." They said the counter-revolutionaries had taken advantage of "mistakes committed in the course of popular democratic construction . . ." The new government offered a 15-point program calling for independence, equality with other socialist states, liquidation of bureaucracy, improved living standards, workers' administration in all factories (a leaf borrowed from the Yugoslavs), an end to "illegalities" in collectivizing farms. The government said it had called on the Soviets to restore order but that afterwards it would negotiate the removal of Soviet troops.

The program tallied in many respects with the demands of demonstrators in the early days of the crisis. For many socialists around the world it posed a dilemma. Socialists, however they might acclaim the Kadar program, would know it had come with Soviet power. For 12 years socialism had grown up in the shadow of that power and last week indicated that it had not grown strong enough to withstand a counter-revolution on its own two feet. The question was: freshly reimposed by Soviet forces, would Socialism strike deeper roots? Was the Soviet Union justified in crushing a counter-revolution beyond its borders? Does the sovereignty of a socialist government stop short of counter-revolution?

DIFFERING VIEWS: In New Delhi Prime Minister Nehru said that "human dignity is being outraged" in both Hungary and Egypt. But in Peking the official Chinese CP paper **People's Daily** said in an editorial, quoted over the Peking radio:

"It is absolutely erroneous to refer, as some people have done, to the events in Hungary and those in Poland in the same terms. Poland has insisted on its Socialist system. It has continued its support of the Warsaw Treaty and its policy of friendship with the Soviet Union. But in Hungary counter-revolutionaries have got the upper hand and the Nagy government announced its withdrawal from the Warsaw Treaty."

In Belgrade the official Yugoslav news agency **Tanjug** supported the new Hungarian government: "For Yugoslavia it is not all the same what the status of socialist development in Hungary will be. It is clear . . . that there can be no peace, progress or independence for the countries of Eastern Europe if it is not based on socialism . . . It is inconceivable to imagine or suppose that in today's conditions in Hungary or in the other countries of Eastern Europe a return to power of the old regime is possible." **Tanjug** cited Poland as an example of a normal evolution.

POLAND URGES CALM: In Poland, despite rumors of unrest, Premier Gomulka had moved to strengthen his regime. Cardinal Mindszenty's Polish counterpart, Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski, was released from detention but Gomulka showed no signs of a Nagy-like yielding to every wind that blew in the storm. In a new agreement with the Roman Catholic Church, Gomulka promised to keep hands off Church appointments and to allow formation of Catholic organizations but barred a Catholic political party. He warned repeatedly of counter-revolutionaries in Poland, refused to yield all the way on Soviet troops, said they would stay until NATO forces disbanded. He backed Nagy's original program but since the Soviet moves in Hungary the only word from Warsaw—and it came from the Cardinal as well as from Gomulka—was for calm.

In Poland the cause of independent, democratic socialism against counter-revolution and/or Soviet intervention would have another test.

Middle East crisis

(Continued from Page 1)

for a General Assembly session—where the veto does not apply—within 24 hours after failure by the Security Council to "take steps to preserve the peace" through lack of unanimity of the permanent members.

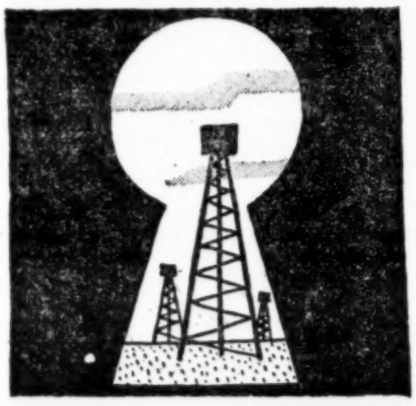
THE THIRD DAY: By the time the General Assembly met on Nov. 1, Anglo-French planes based on Cyprus had already bombarded airfields and other strategic points in Egypt. Israeli forces had made considerable progress; they met little resistance from Egyptian troops, most of which had been transferred to protect the Suez Canal. President Eisenhower had announced Washington's decision not to be involved in the Middle East war.

The first emergency session in the history of the UN General Assembly was the most dramatic one since the Korean war. After an evening meeting which went on almost until dawn, the 76-member Assembly approved a revised U. S. proposal by 64 votes in favor, five against (Britain, France, Israel, Australia, New Zealand) and seven abstentions. The proposal noted the many breaches of the Israel-Arab 1948 armistice agreement by the parties involved; called for an "immediate cease-fire" in Egypt and withdrawal of all forces behind the armistice lines; urged scrupulous observance of armistice terms.

THE FOURTH DAY: Egypt agreed to the cease-fire; Israel accepted cease-fire but refused to withdraw its forces from Sinai; Britain and France rejected the proposal.

At another evening session of the General Assembly—which had remained "seized" of the issue—on Nov. 3, India offered a resolution, sponsored by 19 Asian-African members, again calling for a cease-fire and asking UN Secy. Gen. Dag Hammarskjold to secure a reply from the belligerents within 12 hours—the same number of hours given Egypt in the Anglo-French ultimatum.

THE FIFTH DAY: Replies were negative from Britain, France and Israel as the Assembly again met on the evening of Nov. 4. At this meeting the Assembly adopted a resolution sponsored by Canada, Norway and Colombia. The resolution called for the creation of an international UN police force to supervise the cessation of hostilities in Egypt and the withdrawal of foreign troops from Egyptian soil. Hammarskjold was empowered to approach UN members to create this police force; the permanent members of the Security Council (U. S., U.S.S.R., Britain, France, Formosa) were barred from contributing to this force.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

NO PEEKING, FELLAH!

At Guardian press time, Hammarskjold had received offers of contribution to the force from Canada and some Scandinavian countries. Washington agreed to supply transportation and other non-military facilities. At the same time, Britain and France were landing troops at three key points along the Suez Canal.

Israel warned against "meddling" by the UN or any outside power and declared her conditions for peace with Egypt: (1) free and unmolested passage of Israeli shipping through the Suez Canal and the Gulf of Aqaba; (2) cessation of all Egyptian fedayeen (commando) attacks on Israel; (3) an end to Arab economic blockade of Israel.

SOBER DISCUSSION of the war in Egypt has been difficult because two separate issues have become intertwined: (1) Israel's legitimate grievances against Egypt and other Arab states; (2) the Western powers' opposition to Nasser's nationalization of the Suez Canal Co. and his insistence on Egyptian control over the canal.

ISRAEL'S POSITION: Speaking before a tense audience that jammed the UN Assembly hall and overflowed into another hall where the meeting was televised onto a movie screen, Israel's Ambassador Abba Eban on Nov. 1 pleaded eloquently for an understanding of his country's invasion of Egypt. Declaring that "Egypt has practiced belligerency against Israel" by land and sea, Eban said:

"Surrounded by hostile armies on all its land frontiers; subjected by savage and relentless hostility; exposed to penetrations, raids and assaults by day and by night; suffering constant toll of life amongst its citizenry; bombarded by threats of neighboring governments to accomplish its extinction by armed force; overshadowed by a new menace of irresponsible rearmament; embattled, blockade-besieged Israel alone amongst the nations faces the battle for its security anew with every rising dawn and with every approaching nightfall."

Eban noted that, despite passage of righteous resolutions, the UN has been unable to protect Israel against Arab raids. "Having found no other remedy for over two years," Eban said, "we cross the frontier against those who have no scruple in crossing the frontier against us." He explained that the object of Israel's invasion of Sinai was 'to eliminate the bases from which armed Egyptian [fedayeen] units . . . invade Israel's territory for purposes of murder, sabotage and the creation of permanent insecurity to peaceful life."

HOW OTHERS SEE IT: The force of Eban's argument was weakened by several other aspects of the war in Egypt. It has generally been taken for granted that, even if Britain, France and Israel had not planned the attack on Egypt in advance, London and Paris were at least prompted to launch their invasion by the Israeli invasion, "the original goal of which was stated with surprising candor to be the Suez Canal" (**Christian Science Monitor**, 10/31). Should the Anglo-French maneuver succeed, Asians, Africans and Latin Americans would look on Israel as having helped restore Western imperialism in the Middle East.

Moreover, if Israel were considered justified in attacking Egypt because of the UN's failure to solve the Israeli-Arab conflict, others whose claims have been pending at the UN for a long time would be equally justified in taking matters into their own hands. The complaint of the Africans and the Indians against oppression by the S. African government, for example, has been on the UN agenda ever since its inception; but the complainants have had no relief.

A BASIC PRINCIPLE: If there seemed to be extenuating circumstances for Israel's action, the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt had no justification whatever. London and Paris have openly proclaimed their goal to be the establishment of international control of the Suez Canal; this would first require the removal of President Nasser from power. This is not only interference in the internal affairs of a country with a vengeance: it also violates a basic principle which all the world's under-developed countries have been trying hard to establish.

THERE WERE SOME UNUSUAL ALLIANCES

The United States' Lodge (l.) in earnest conversation with the Soviet Union's Sobolev (r.) at the United Nations, as Iran's Entezam listens in. The two great powers found themselves in unaccustomed agreement temporarily on the Middle East.

This principle is the right of any people to take possession of its resources at any time, provided just compensation is paid to the current owners. To maintain this principle, governments of all under-developed countries are compelled to support President Nasser's action regarding the Suez Canal, irrespective of the character of the Nasser regime. This principle may be likened to the need for supporting the civil liberties of all groups and individuals in the U. S. in order to maintain the liberties of any one of them.

LATIN AMERICAN VIEW: Should Israel be a party to destroying this principle in the case of Egypt's action regarding the Suez Canal, she would be bound to lose the sympathy of fellow Asians, Africans and Latin Americans. During the UN discussions the Latin Americans spoke sympathetically of Israel's situation but unreservedly condemned the Anglo-French invasion of Egypt.

Britain and France tried to justify their invasion by calling it a police action urgently needed to stop the Israel-Egypt conflict and to maintain uninterrupted flow of canal traffic. Britain assured the UN that Anglo-French occupation of the Suez Canal would be temporary.

But in a powerful petition for his country, Egypt's delegate Omar Lutfi condemned the Anglo-French ultimatum to a sovereign government to draw back on its own soil, asked who gave Britain and France—among all canal users—the right to act as policemen in the Middle East. He noted that it was Anglo-French bombing of ships in the canal which had effectively blocked Suez traffic. He warned: "This act is fraught with incalculable repercussions of which France and Britain will bear the consequences."

PROBABLE REASONING: The sequence and pattern of events indicated that Israel had decided to try to end an intolerable situation by precipitating a showdown with her hostile Arab neighbors. By forcing Egypt through a military defeat to negotiate a peace settlement, she hoped that other Arab governments would fall in line also and negotiate a settlement. Perhaps by failing to obtain assistance from other quarters, she accepted Anglo-French aid, even though such aid came with its own imperialistic designs. But it remained doubtful if the results would live up to Israel's anticipations:

- Any settlement imposed by military power would undoubtedly leave a lasting bitterness among Israel's neighbors, with whom Israel can live at peace only through mutual goodwill.
- Other Asians would suspect Israel of being an "outpost of Western imperialism in Asia," should Britain and France regain control over the Suez Canal.
- Israel's prestige would be damaged even more if London and Paris fail.

THE AFTERMATH: Success for Britain and France was by no means assured. Nasser might fall, but there would be no assurance that his successor would be different. Anglo-French success would fan Arab nationalism, bring in its wake guerrilla warfare and sabotage of oil pipelines (already reported taking place in Syria and Iraq). There was mounting opposition in Britain itself against Prime Minister Eden's action (see p. 3), even within the ranks of his own party. Most damaging to Eden's prestige was the resignation of Anthony Nutting, Minister of State in the Foreign Office, in protest against the invasion of Egypt.

Britain and France may have the military power to topple the Nasser regime, but to maintain "victory" they would have to occupy all of Egypt indefinitely. As Egypt's UN delegate Lutfi pointed out, no one believed the British pledge of "temporary occupation." Egyptians recalled that the 1882 British conquest of Egypt was also declared by Prime Minister Gladstone to be a "temporary occupation". It lasted 73 years. But in the face of the united opposition of the Bandung powers, indefinite occupation would clearly be impossible.

WASHINGTON'S ROLE: While Britain and France attempted to shore up their dwindling imperialist power, U. S. policy seemed hesitant and uncertain. Washington began with a forthright condemnation of the Anglo-French military intervention but gradually softened its position to a point where it seemed to be willing to stall for time, let matters run their course, permit the establishment of a UN police force as a substitute for international control of the Suez Canal. By this means, it was believed, Washington hoped to gain the dominant position of arbiter in the Middle East after all participants weakened themselves through warfare.

NO!

IT IS WITH PROFOUND EMOTION and a heart torn by unspeakable anguish that the French yesterday learned of the development of military operations which confront our country with the prospect of war.

Under the cover of an Israeli provocation which the French and British governments apparently knew about (to say the least), we run the risk of finding ourselves in a general war in the Middle East. It would be useless to conceal from ourselves that such a conflict would array against France and England almost all of the nations of Asia and Africa. . . .

How is it conceivable that the government of France, above all a government under Socialist leadership should let itself slide into such an adventure, the consequences of which may be new and terrible bloodshed?

Even if today we are confronted with an accomplished fact we shall not cease fighting as democrats so that the conflict may be settled at the UN and that whatever the decisions of the international body may be, our government shall bow to them.

It is not too late, we like to hope, for wisdom to triumph over unreason.

Editorial in Paris Liberation (10/31)

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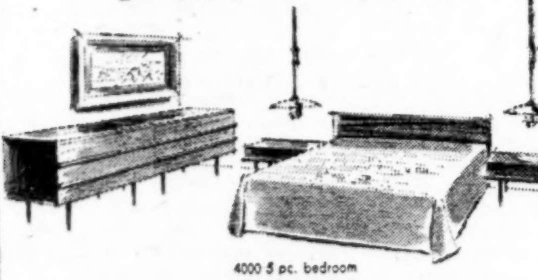

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Bad medicine

MIAMI, FLA.

The article "About the Common Gold" is, in my opinion, just so much bad medicine. I wish people would quit passing goods off on me which I don't want and resent having paid for. If there is some extra space in the **GUARDIAN**, why not fill it with quotations from the writings of the Old Masters—Marx, Engels, Lenin, etc. That would be good medicine. **Oliver Ritchie**

PROTESTS OVER EGYPT

Britain in an uproar

Special to the Guardian

LONDON

BY THE WEEK-END after the Tory aggression against Egypt, a wave of protest was sweeping Britain on a scale almost unprecedented in any country at war. Demonstrations spontaneously planned by trade union and anti-war groups, such as the Sunday, Nov. 4, mass meeting in Trafalgar Square sparked by the Movement for Colonial Freedom's "Emergency Suez Committee", got official support and co-operation from the national Labour leadership.

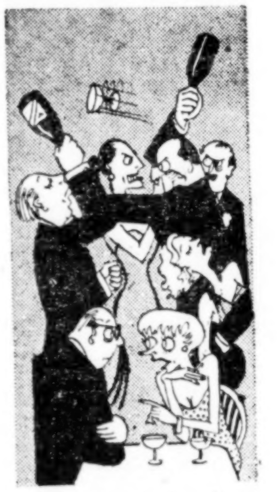
The leadership, frankly alarmed by the possibility of direct industrial action against the war, hoped by cooperating in a "Law, Not War" campaign to keep popular indignation under orderly control. Labour Party leader Gaitskell was scheduled as chief speaker at London's Albert Hall on Nov. 6, and meetings—some for the week-end, some for the following week—were planned in almost every city in the land.

MASSIVE RALLY: A statement approved unanimously by the Labour Party Executive, the Trades Union Congress and the Natl. Council of Labour urged nation-wide pressure for a cease-fire but by means of "normal, constitutional parliamentary methods" and not by strikes. TUC chairman Sir Tom Williamson said the TUC would "not countenance industrial action."

The Sunday rally in Trafalgar Square drew an audience of 20,000 and was by far the greatest political demonstration in Britain since the early Thirties. Aneurin Bevan, leader of the Labour Party's left wing, set the demonstrators to a rhythmic chanting, "Eden must go," when he said:

"If Eden is sincere in what he is saying—and he may be—then he is too stupid to be a Prime Minister. He is either a knave or a fool. In both capacities we do not want him . . . The only way for the Conservatives to restore their reputation is to get out."

At the end of the rally thousands of demonstrators headed down Whitehall toward Downing Street but were blocked by a massive wall of police drawn up in three lines. The first and third ranks were mounted, with men on foot in the center. Those persons who managed to slip past the first line of charging horses were seized by the policemen in the second row.



Daily Express, London

"—but never, never forget that in any international dispute we are always gravely handicapped by a temperamental reluctance to resort to force!"

Scotland Yard reported eight policemen injured, and more than 27 persons arrested.

"RECALL THE TROOPS": Meanwhile the United Nations Assn. called an emergency council session Nov. 3 and announced a public meeting for the following week. The British Council of Churches asked that Sunday, Nov. 4, be observed as "a day of special prayer" in all churches, and requested an immediate interview with Prime Minister Eden. The Natl. Peace Council, deploring Britain's Security Council veto, called for the recall of British troops. The Joint Pacifist Committee, co-ordinating numerous pacifist organizations, urged "fellow-countrymen to ask themselves whether they can in conscience take any part in this war or support it in any way." Dr. Donald Soper, Methodist leader and militant pacifist, at his regular "soap-box" meeting on Tower Hill appealed to workers "to refuse to transport materials of war" and to soldiers "to refuse to fight."

The Independent Labour Party, condemning the Anglo-French "war of aggression", urged British and French workers to "use every means in their power" to stop it. The Communist Party called for a general election to "win a Labour government pledged to peace" and said:

"The miners who threatened to stop the production of coal for war against Egypt, the engineering workers and transport workers who have already denounced the war policy of the Tory government, have it in their grasp to enforce peace. Not a man, gun or plane for war against Egypt!"

"MAD ADVENTURE": Transport & General Workers leader Frank Cousins told the Scottish conference of his union, which passed a resolution expressing "grave concern" at the Tories' "19th century mentality", that it was "tragic the people of Britain were not consulted, at a time when it was clear that they were in complete opposition to the government's attitude." Among unions protesting in strong terms were the Foundry Workers, Fire Brigades, Shipbuilding & Engineering, Mineworkers, Railwaymen and Welsh Council of Labour. The Labour Party's Scottish council demanded the government's immediate withdrawal from "this mad adventure into power politics." In North London, the Amalgamated Engineering Union said it would "use the whole force at our command" to stop the "aggression."

Telegrams of protest poured into 10 Downing Street from organizations and groups of scientists, doctors, lawyers, journalists, ministers and clerks. Students demonstrated in the streets of Cambridge, Manchester, Birmingham, Exeter, Southampton, and in Oxford where demonstrators clashed in street battles with pro-government students shouting: "Wogs, go home!" ("Wog" is a term of contempt for colored peoples). From Oxford on Nov. 1 came a telegram of protest signed by 73 professors, and busloads of students to lobby MP's; and that evening mounted police dispersed 2,000 London University students who marched on the House of Commons.

CALENDAR

Chicago

PETE SEEGER sings "Songs of Friendship," folk music of American and Soviet peoples. Sat., Nov. 10, 8:15 p.m. Milda Hall, 3142 S. Halsted. Adm. 90c & $1.50. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 W. Madison, Suite 403. ANdover 3-1877.

HELP WANTED FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES BAZAAR, Dec. 1-2nd. Contributions of merchandise, "white elephants," articles of all kinds needed now. Sponsor: Chicago Joint Defense Committee, 189 W. Madison St. (Rm. 402), DE 2-7142.

TABITHA PETRAN reports on her trip to USSR for the Guardian, 32 W. Randolph, Hall C-1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8:15 p.m. Adm. 90c. Tickets from Chi. Coun. Am.-Sov. Friendship, 189 Madison, Suite 403. AN 3-1877.

Detroit

ANNUAL LABOR PRESS BAZAAR, Nov. 17-18, Nowak Hall, 5703 Chene St. For benefit of Daily & Michigan Worker. Special guest: **Ben Davis,** former publisher of both papers, former N.Y. City Councilman. Attractive bargains for Xmas shoppers. Special Cultural Program on Sat. night, outstanding talent. Merchandise needed by Bazaar Committee. Notify Worker Office, 2419 Grand River for pick-up of donations.

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What is the Answer?
Hear: Frank Marquart, Brendan Sexton
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Free Adm. Auspices: Detroit Labor Forum

Minneapolis

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Dorothy Schultz
gives a socialist analysis of
The UPRISINGS IN EASTERN EUROPE
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Nov. 16 724-4th Ave., So. Hall 2
8:00 P. M. Minneapolis
Questions Discussion
Donation 25c

Los Angeles

THE TRUTH ABOUT RADIATION DAMAGE and its Effects on Human Beings, Born and Unborn. A new **UNITARIAN PUBLIC FORUM,** Nov. 30, 8 p. m. at First Unitarian Church, 2936 W 8th St., nr. Vermont Ave. **DR. LINUS PAULING,** Noble Prize Winner and Professor of Chemistry at Cal. Tech., Moderator. Speakers: **Dr. Franklin Stahl,** biologist at Cal. Tech., and **Dr. James Warf,** Chemist at Univ. of So. California. Adm.: 75c.

FOLK MUSIC CONCERT SERIES presents **MARTHA SCHLAMME** Sat., Nov. 24, 8:30 p.m. **WILSHIRE-EBELL THEATRE,** 4401 W. 8th St. Tickets at Box Office, WE 9-1128, $2.75, 2.20, 1.65, 1.10.

Berkeley, Calif.

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Seattle

SAT., DEC. 1st, Prof. Louise Pettibone Smith on the Walter-McCarran Law, Washington Hall, 153-14th Ave., Dinner 6 p.m. Meeting 8 p.m. Auspices: WCPFB.

New York

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JEFFERSON ROUNDTABLE. Tues., Nov. 13, 8:15 p. m. "LENINISM and U. S. MARXISTS: What Meaning Has Leninism in the Struggle for Socialism Today?" Panelists, Max Gordon, Abraham Unger, Doxey A. Wilkerson. Jefferson School, 575 6th Ave., NYC. Adm. $1. (First in a series of 4 roundtables on theoretical questions facing American Marxists referred to the Draft Resolution of the CPUSA.) **Tues., Nov. 20: "Is Capitalist Stabilization Now Possible?" Tues., Nov. 27: "The Communist Theoretical 'New Look' at the Negro Question." Tues., Dec. 4: "Do U.S. Marxists Need A Communist 'Party'?" Tickets for series of 4—$3.**

All friends invited to **BAINBRIDGE CULTURAL CLUB LECTURE,** Fri., Nov. 16, 8:30 p.m., with Morris Schappes on "The Jews in American Political Life." 3230 Bainbridge Av. (Bronx).

CLUB CINEMA (430 Sixth Ave.) **"LE PLAISIR,"** Nov. 10. Sophisticated treatment of adult folly, directed by Max Ophuls and starring Daniele Darrieux, Jean Gabin, and Simone Brasseur. Showings: Sat., 8:30 and 10 p.m. Adm: Members, $1; non-members, $1.25. Next week: **"MAEDCHEN IN UNIFORM"** (German).

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A friend passes

ONTARIO, CANADA

With profound grief I tell GUARDIAN readers that Louis Kon, of Montreal, has passed away, after long suffering with a grave heart ailment.

Louis Kon devoted 39 years of his long life to build friendship between the peoples of this continent and of the Soviet Union. He experienced every reward, from the love of his countless friends to the praise of famous statesmen. And he made every sacrifice, enduring the cruellest persecution.

Louis reached the stars. His memory will shine for every Canadian and American who cherishes the cause of peace and friendship.

Dyson Carter

Ike's landslide

(Continued from Page 1)

there was little opportunity to air the nation's most pressing problems. What was really on Americans' minds as they went to the polls could only be guessed at in early hours of Wednesday morning.

A VICTORY STATEMENT: The President's popularity was not exclusively the Rotarian nonsense symbolized by the glimpse of GOP Natl. Chairman Leonard Hall singing a quavering solo: "Good fellowship is reigning . . . Ike, our boy, is bound to score."

The President took part of his mandate to mean that he was not Hall's boy. In his victory statement he suggested two reasons for his election: to keep the peace and clean up the GOP. He pledged peace abroad, but many saw in his words a declaration of war on his own right wing. He said: "I think that modern Republicanism has now proved itself. And America has approved of modern Republicanism."

The peace issue had been buried in the campaign's early days. Adlai Stevenson raised it to prominence obliquely in his reference to the banning of H-bomb tests. But in the week before election peace became the nation's prime concern. The Republicans' proudest boast had been: "Everything's booming but the guns." But the gunfire in Egypt undoubtedly helped the GOP more than a continued all-quiet could have done. Plainly the American voters regarded the GOP as the peace party, recalling that it had been in office when the Korean war ended. They were unwilling to change horses in midstream—and especially not at a possible brink.

INSISTENCE ON PEACE: Pulse-taker Samuel Lubell, wearily scanning returns in the early post-election hours, summed up the meaning of the election by saying the American people insist on peace.

In some areas, though, the crisis helped the Democrats. Strong sympathy for Israel—and dissatisfaction with the U.S. stand on the war there—almost lost the N.Y. Senate race for the GOP's Jacob Javits. Mayor Wagner had shown surprising strength upstate and ran far ahead of Stevenson throughout New York. In the end Javits won the state by a little over 400,000 votes, Eisenhower by 1,500.000.

Brookline, Mass., a Boston suburb, was another example of where the Israel question was credited with a strong current running counter to the Republican tide. There the Democrats took a wholly unexpected House seat in a district the Republicans thought was a sure thing.

THE NEGRO VOTE: Civil rights, too, had been buried in platitudes through the campaign, but showed up in the tallies. Negro districts which had been taken for granted as Democratic since the New Deal showed a formidable trend to the Republicans. They stayed in the Democratic line for the most part but by drastically reduced margins.

The widespread shift of Negro voters away from the party which, whatever its Northern wings might say, still included the most rabid segregationists of the South, was seen in Houston, Baltimore, Chicago, New York, Philadelphia, possibly Los Angeles.

Democratic Rep. Adam Clayton Powell, who last month announced his own shift to Eisenhower, estimated the general drop in Negro Democratic strength at 20%; he gave the Republicans about 40% of the Negro vote. Powell won easily in his own Harlem district, defeating the Republican contender 57,500 to 16,500. His customary thumping victory was somewhat reduced, however, partly because he was opposed this year by a Liberal Party candidate who polled 8,500 votes.

Powell said the vote "does not necessarily mean a shift to the Republican Party. It does mean that the Negro people are standing up as American men and women thinking for themselves and voting as independents." He indicated he himself might leave the Democratic Party unless it purged itself of "creeping Eastlandism," cleaned house "from top to bottom" and increased patronage for Negroes and Puerto Ricans.

THE LABOR VOTE: Labor and the big city vote in general had also been thought of as invulnerably Democratic. Top leaders of organized labor had come out firmly for Stevenson and in Michigan, at least, unions had been mobilized for doorbell ringing for the Democratic Party.

But steel workers in Lorain, O., and auto workers in Flint, Mich. went for Eisenhower. Chicago, where the machine was counted on for enough strength to swing Illinois into the Democratic column, gave Eisenhower a rare GOP victory of some 16,000 votes. Stevenson came close to losing New York City as well, winning by only 100,000 votes where he counted on piling up enough to overcome traditional upstate Republicanism. The same story of faltering Democratic machines was repeated in St. Paul and other big cities across the country.

At 2 a.m. Wednesday morning a shocked CBS analyst said: "Something has happened to Democrats in the Negro and labor vote."

THE FENCE MENDER: Adlai Stevenson, ever since his defeat in 1952, had been busy mending fences in the South, reassuring the Dixiecrats, soothing Northern liberals by telling them appeasement was the only road to a united party.

Last week Stevenson was stuck with the South and nothing else but Harry Truman's Missouri. His 74 electoral votes (a drop from 89 in 1952) came from Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Mississippi, Missouri, North and South Carolina. One big question raised by the results was whether the Democrats could continue seeking a unity that left them solid only in the very heart of the Confederacy and was whittling away their Northern strength.

It seemed true, as one commentator said on election night, that the race had been between a popular man and a popular party. Eisenhower's popularity was unquestionable. But how long the Domocrats could remain the popular party, by wearing the New Deal mantle without being a New Deal party, was open to doubt. Its strongest bulwarks were crumbling and its loyalties could not withstand the genial Eisenhower grin or the legend that had grown about him. Certainly it could not long stand up if the Democrats insisted on narrowing—almost to the vanishing point—their differences with the Republicans, cultivating a big armaments policy and pussy-footing on civil rights.

THE CONGRESS: The strength of the party was still shown, however, in Congressional and gubernatorial races. As the GUARDIAN went to press there were some indications that the Democrats would maintain their slim edge in both houses. If they do, it will not be an accurate measure of the health of the Democratic Party nationally because, of the 35 seats at stake in the Senate, 11 were in almost guaranteed Democratic states: Alabama, Arkansas, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Missouri and the Carolinas. Though Eisenhower cracked some of these states, the one-party system in the South is almost inviolate in campaigns for lesser office.

Only three of the Senate seats were in Republican territory: Kansas, New Hampshire and Vermont.

The state of the House was not clear at GUARDIAN's press time but it was there that the much-heralded farm revolt might best show up. While the Republicans were gaining in the ordinarily Democratic cities and factory towns, they were showing weak spots in what was once their strongest armor, the Midwest rural vote. Minnesota was an example. Farm discontent with the Administration policies, though somewhat softened by a good soy bean and corn crop, diminished the GOP vote and might have given the state to the Democrats were it not for an unexpectedly strong Eisenhower vote in Hennepin County (Minneapolis).

MORSE'S FIGHT: In the general tide there were whirlpools of conflicting currents. Sen. Wayne G. Morse, ex-Republican turned Democrat, was battling for life against former Secy. of the Interior Douglas McKay, tarred with much of the Administration's gigantic give-aways of natural resources.

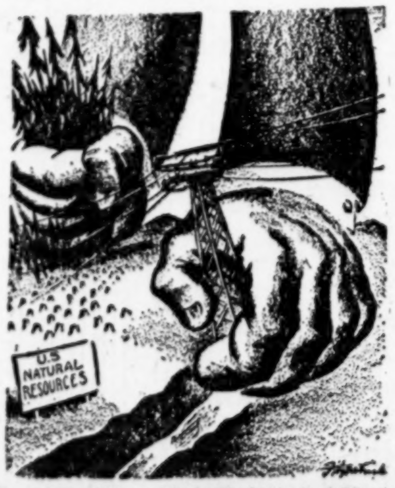
In California Richard Richards, who had fought militantly for a strong civil rights stand at the Democratic national convention, was defeated by Sen. Thomas Kuchel, generally thought of as a far-right Republican and a friend of Wm. Knowland, though Eisenhower had called him a "member of the team."

Other far-right Republicans due to reappear in the Senate on January were Capehart of Indiana and Hickenlooper of Iowa. In Idaho the bitter-end, anti-Eisenhower, witch-hunting Sen. Welker was defeated by Democrat Frank Church. Glen Taylor, 1948 running-mate of Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket, had come close to defeating Church for the nomination. Charging irregularities he had asked for a recount and was denied one. Then, bluntly calling it a steal, he launched a write-in campaign. Church's campaign was closer to Welker's than to Taylor's.

Church's victory over Welker despite the bitter Taylor campaign indicated that if Taylor had been given the victory he claims to have merited in the primary, he would have won handily and been the only genuine progressive in the Senate.

MARC'S OLD DISTRICT: In Pennsylvania Joseph C. Clark, former reform mayor of Philadelphia, was locked in a battle with conservative Republican Sen. James H. Duff, the result a toss-up at press time.

In New York progressives took cheer from returns in the 18th CD, the district that repeatedly sent the late Vito Marcantonio to Congress. Marcantonio was finally defeated by a Republican-Democratic-Liberal gang-up behind James G. Donovan, who, ever since, has voted wrong on most major issues and is generally charged with complete disregard of his constituency. Last Tuesday Donovan was retired from office. The Democratic-Liberal candidate Santangelo defeated him 47,000 to 35,000.



Fitzpatrick in St. Louis Post-Dispatch

NEVER HAD IT SO GOOD

A clear responsibility

OF THE MANY FACTORS in a prosperous but uneasy nation which influenced the American electorate's emphatic endorsement of President Eisenhower's administration, the one unarguable one is that the President himself stands in the public mind as an unswerving guarantor of continuing peace.

Yet the demand for an end to H-bomb testing represented by Adlai Stevenson, while never a clear objection to the policy of preparation for atomic war, won millions of adherents who stood up to be counted. Clearly, too, many millions more who agreed with Stevenson on this issue found it more important to support a President who has measured up in all other situations where peace was the issue.

Thus the people of this nation have uttered a universal expression of a will for peace, even though neither the Republican nor the Democratic Party represents this will. Hence, this peace mandate of the American people has no enforcement arm in American politics, nor indeed any reliable means of continued expression in the organizational life of the nation.

The responsibility for generating an effective means for the continued expression and enforcement of this mandate, we believe, lies primarily with the progressive citizens of America. We urge immediate steps toward the accomplishment of this historic end.

—THE EDITORS

IMMUNITY FOR WHOM?

Fitzgerald faces prison for life

EDWARD J. FITZGERALD, first person to be imprisoned for contempt of court under the Brownell Compulsory Testimony Act of 1954, may face possible life imprisonment, according to a government threat made the day he surrendered to serve his term.

Asst. U. S. Atty. Thomas A. Bolan told newsmen on Oct. 29 that when Fitzgerald completes his present six-month sentence, he will be asked the same questions he has already refused to answer under the Fifth Amendment. Bolan said that if he again refuses, the government will move to have him held in contempt again. The process could go on indefinitely.

Fitzgerald, a former government researcher and economist, is one of dozens of former government employes named by Elizabeth Bentley as members of wartime "spy rings." He has publicly denied her charges. In a statement of his principles (GUARDIAN, Oct. 15) he said:

"But I will not, under any grant of immunity from punishment for crimes I did not commit, submit to any inquisition about my beliefs, or about my associates or their beliefs."

MOVE KEPT SECRET: Milton Friedman, Fitzgerald's attorney, said that Bolan's "amazing statement" shows "that it is the government's intention to keep Fitzgerald in jail for the rest of his life for something which is, at worst, a single offense." He said that until Fitzgerald was behind bars, the government kept its intention "a deep secret during the prosecution, never revealing it before any of the courts, which had to pass on the validity of the current six-month sentence."

He added that "the government knows perfectly well that Fitzgerald is innocent of crime" and that "he has never been prosecuted for crime." He said Fitzgerald will continue to resist government "persecution" and that the case will be appealed to the Supreme Court again if necessary.

The Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the immunity law in March, 1956. Fitzgerald was convicted in August, 1955, and was denied a hearing by the Supreme Court on Oct. 8 this year.